10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawifi of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. Acording to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawifi were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruin, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was competriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

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again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The men suggested that they make a gillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the gillatun. He was well trusted; he ate and drank to satiety. When the gillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the angling hook toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Cañaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filqueñi (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Cañaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCING, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pilalka (whistle) (pl. 32, *a-d*, *f*), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, *i*), the kultrung (drum) (pl. 30, *i*), the wada (rattle), and the kullkull and the kuykul (bugles) (pl. 12, *i*). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pilalka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pilalka, trutruka, and kultrung are used at the gillatun; the kultrung and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a kultrung rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, *g*, *j*, *k*), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

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side of the loom. This assures even lengths of the ponchos, she noted. For the width of the poncho she measured the distance between wrists of the interpreter's outstretched arms, and made a knot to indicate this measurement. The vertical bars of her loom needed to be that distance apart to insure the proper width.

Since trade with Argentines requires a knowledge of the meter, the length of a meter is marked off on some object. "We marked ours off on the rope of braided horsehide that we use in lassoing animals."

Measurements of quantity were pinches, single handfuls, and double handfuls, with hands held like scoops.

DIVERSIONS

VISITING AND CONVERSATION, STORIES, SMOKING

Visiting within the family or among relatives or neighbors was, and still is, a popular pastime. Casual passers-by also may approach a group, wait until invited, and then join in the visiting. Most persons squat while visiting, but available chairs and benches are usually occupied. Formerly cushions replaced sidewalks, resting on a pack of pelts. Men squat with knees apart and legs crossed under them at ankles; women squat with feet protruding at the left side. Children were always tolerated during adult conversation as listeners-in. "It was a good way for them to learn." Formerly, on occasions, after a family had made much chicha, invitations were sent to relatives and friends to participate in its consumption. Usually an abundance of meat was roasted outdoors for the get-together. A casual visitor did not stay for meals unless expressly invited to do so. An ample meal, sometimes an abundant one, was served to all invited guests on the occasions of the ear-piercing and naming of a child or following a girl's menstrual isolation. Some families never gave a feast: they were either too poor to do so, or had no interest in doing so.

Generally, conversation during visiting covered current topics, although legends and stories associated with wars were often related also. "There really was much to talk about formerly," said Kolopan. "We talked about the whereabouts of the gunmen; where the soldiers were; why we were again being chased from our land; how we were going to learn the language of the Whites; and many other things."

During my visit current topics were a suicide of a young Araucanian man; the national presidential election; preparations for driving cattle and sheep to summer pastures; taking a sick old woman—a favorite in the neighborhood—to a hospital in San Martín de los Andes; the baptism of a neighbor's baby; the critical illness of Father Ludovico.

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521 spun over them. A world went into the opening and cut down something. While
531 she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it. Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion. Its habitat stems being blown off. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lovar and Lake Nahuelhuapi. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Many fine rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshoneco. In the fight, stones piled up on our side of Shoshoneco so that today Shoshoneco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

517 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years
276 and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence; "today, a boy of 13 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked ceremonially at the gilletun; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of maqui and dried wood of vauli, or a mixture of crushed leaves of both, was smoked. Tobacco was introduced with government rations. Kologuan, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with maqui, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of vauli to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only at bedtime since it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was called pairun; the word kimikimich was not known to informants; Kologuan found it an interesting word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out cribbin stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (pl. 76, g). Those of cachpun and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, consolidated communities in the indigenous sense has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *lawün* or *trawün*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palihuetun*), or emigrant labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *lawün*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *nillatun* or *ngen*, which may also be referred to as *lawün*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for intercommunal contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *nillatun* and *ngen*. While there are ritual overtones to *palihuetun* and emigrant, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most participants come from within the region or ritual congregation is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests have become more diffuse and less related to group membership than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling *awn* observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*weza l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
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Tehuelche friends. The gloriously warm weather, which, for a wonder, continued during our stay at Lilly-haik, as this station was named, rendered our residence there most enjoyable, and we revelled in the simple pleasures of the woods; sometimes three or four of us would go across the brook, and traversing a plain occupied by the horses and cattle, search for strawberries amongst the ravines of the neighbouring mountains, or climb the tall trees and gather the yellow insipid fungus adhering to the branches, or lie down amongst the wild violets and enjoy the *dolce far niente*. These Indian children of nature showed themselves as thoroughly able to appreciate the idleness of gathering fruit and flowers and roaming in the woods as school children on a holiday ramble. On one occasion Casimiro and several others proceeded in search of wood wherewith to construct saddles, and we felled several fine trees, selecting and cutting off suitable pieces of timber. It was hard work with blunt axes, but Indians are indefatigable when they once commence a task. After my spell at the axe I wandered off with a companion into the thicker forest in search of fungus to make tinder. Of this we found little, but thirst soon made us seek for water, and discover a delicious ice-cold rivulet, embowered with currant bushes bearing ripe fruit. Here we remained a short time smoking and picking currants, recumbent on the mossy turf, till a shout in the distance warned us that our companions were returning. On our way home we killed one of the flat toad-like lizards which the Indians regard as devilish; we also caught a young skunk, which Casimiro wished to keep as a pet for the children, but at my instance let it go and enjoy the delights of freedom. 'Fancy a tame skunk!' some may exclaim; but in Hinchel's toldo there were two skunks which, perfectly tame and as playful as kittens, ran about everywhere, never using their offensive powers, and sometimes getting lost for an hour or two caused a dreadful outcry to be raised by the children until they were found.

The hill slopes were a garden of calceolarias, alyssum, tiny